10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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857 of the elders for their own amusement. These children were not *kaioi* or members of adolescent bands; they did not become *kaioi* until after puberty, at which time the whole gang passed into the *kaioi* stage together. When the group married, they tended to become members of the same households, as they had formed attachments for one another and had had considerable opportunity to become accustomed to each other.

836 864 Sexual play was a regular practice among the children from the earliest period. The adult attitude toward it, if not one of active encouragement, was at least that of mild amusement. Intercourse was frequently witnessed by the children in the dwelling and also at the periods of license which followed the feasts. Regular intercourse began before puberty with patterns of group sexual play, two or three girls in the gang serving a number of boys in rapid succession with the other boys looking on. Occasionally there were individual affairs. Sexual techniques were learned through imitation of the adults. Masturbation in childhood was inducted by the parents; whether it was practiced afterward in the face of opportunity for intercourse, it is impossible to say. Homosexuality was present in the form of mutual masturbation, but I have no data as to its frequency. The gap between adults and children was such that it was impossible for an adult to win the child's confidence. Relations between them were amiable but entirely disassociated.

291 Clothing was assumed shortly before puberty. The eldest child was clothed for ceremonial purposes from time to time from infancy onward. I heard of one small boy, an eldest son, who left his family in a huff because they wanted him to wear a loin cloth to a ceremony. Later in life the clothing, so far as males were concerned, was mainly decorative. The decent costume for males was to have the foreskin drawn over the glans and fastened beyond it with a thread wrapped around and tied. Thus attired, a gentleman was properly clothed, but if the thread slipped, it was a case of indecent exposure.

883 Young people between the age of puberty and marriage formed a group known as the *kaioi*. Readers familiar with

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fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraordinarily complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated, too. There were various markings for the face which were probably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior, he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed was to be indecently naked.

When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted during the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indicating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age, trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in intercourse. The girls began their dances completely attired but finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

/20 cont./

pa'u An unidentified tree of this name, believed by informants to grow only in the western side of the central plateau of Nuku Hiva, provides bark which is used as an astringent in the same fashion as that of the kehika tree. 757 856

Some of these medications may be taken in a sequence as follows: moho ki'o, koku'u, ko'i'e, and tuei'au. Where it is impossible to obtain all of the medicinal source plants, such sequential dosage would not be possible, however, and one or two would be selected for use out of the possible alternatives. The medication, once begun, is continued up to the age of menstruation or a little before. If the girl was not treated in infancy, the treatment may be started at any time up to the age of ten years. Adults have been known to use the medication but in the two cases reported experienced rather dangerous side effects, such as extreme swelling of the mucus lining of the vagina, make such adult usage infrequent. The use of vaginal astringents is by no means a tottering survival. Most young couples use one or more of the astringents on their female children. Marquesans residing in Tahiti have requested that tu'ei'au, the most popular of the astringents, be prepared and sent to them. 757 832 [856]

In addition to the effects of the vaginal astringents, a mark of beauty or more appropriately physical acceptability in women is a flat symphysis pubis. To this end, the mons veneris is massaged during infancy and /21/ girlhood. Formerly this massage was accompanied by stretching of the labiae to elongate them. This was done by the mother during the daily bath. The child was seized by the ankles, its legs held apart while the mother manipulated the labiae with her lips. This practice is rare at present, however. 856 832 [[98]]

For male infants, no such early preparation occurs. The foreskin is pulled back and cleaned at bathing, however, as genital cleanliness is extremely important for the Marquesans. Therefore, care is taken that the foreskin will be flexible when the child grows older, so that cleanliness may be maintained. 865 515

Marquesan children have ample opportunity to observe much of adult sexual behavior. In the typical Marquesan house, 864 513

/21 cont./ 864 513
children sleep beside the parents. As most houses are quite small, parents and children are seldom far apart. Only when a child is 7 or 8 will some attempt be made to prevent it from witnessing the parents in coitus. (Most adults apparently prefer to believe that the children always are asleep, although the same adults can be prevailed upon to recount some of the acts which they witnessed as children.) Further, the association of infants with somewhat older children who "baby sit" during parts of the day, has the effect of placing the infant in a position to learn many of the overt practices of children. Marquesan children are therefore quite sophisticated at very early ages. This sophistication manifests itself in an early beginning of sexual play. 864 [854]

/22/ Masturbation (pau pau heke) among males begins about the age of three, or sometimes earlier. Many male children masturbate before they talk. The masturbation technique of children is exactly like that of adults -- the penis and hand are moistened with saliva to increase the sensation and ease. Most children are taught this by example of older boys. It was nearly impossible to obtain data on female masturbation, due to the extreme reluctance of women to discuss this on any terms with a male or female investigator. Only one occurrence was noted, this a story by a girl who claimed she had witnessed a very young girl in the Convent School of Atuona on Hiva Oa digitally masturbate in the mornings. It is probable that female masturbation is no less frequent than male masturbation, however, as males make frequent reference to female practices. 839 864 [871]

Young boys from the ages of 6 or 7 upward quite frequently gather surreptitiously in the bush for masturbation contests. The objects of these contests is to see who can ejaculate (manini, haka te'a) first. Naturally the younger members of these groups are physiologically incapable of ejaculation, and their participation appears to be based on their desire for sexual stimulation derived both from the actual manipulation of the genitals as well as from observing 859 864 839

/22 cont./
the behavior of others. Mutual masturbation occurs in these gatherings; and some homosexual activity may begin at this time, although it is uncertain. [837]

At the age of approximately 7 years other forms of group sexual activity appear, which are heterosexual. Boys and girls, playing at "mother and father," will often place their genitalia in contact for /23/ brief periods. The girl either stands against a tree or lies supine on the ground, with the boy assuming the normal position for coitus. Contact is brief, accompanied occasionally by pelvic movement. This activity is carried out with much laughter, in isolated areas where adults will not be apt to surprise the gathering.

Adult disapprobation of masturbation and the other group activities among children is apparently feared. The error lies in being so inept as to be caught at any of these activities, however, rather than in the activity itself. There is no folklore concerning deleterious effects of masturbation or homosexuality. It is merely considered shameful to allow adults to witness these acts, however natural they might be. Furthermore, much of the disapprobation of such acts is feigned, especially where Europeans are present. Disapproval is expected as "the thing to do."

During childhood, Marquesan children of both sexes are given jobs and responsibilities which increase as they grow older. Caring for children occupies a great deal of time for young girls. Girls are also expected to help with cooking, laundry and general maintenance around the house. Girls also collect shellfish along the beaches, and line-fish for sardines and other small fish in the bay. They are taught crafts, such as sewing and basketry. Both sexes help in the care of livestock: watering and tethering horses, and feeding pigs, goats and chickens. These jobs are usually handled in a routine, with the animals being /24/ served at the same time each day, usually early in the morning and again at dusk.

Boys help in the manufacture of copra and in gardening tasks. They also are expected to handle the more strenuous tasks, such as collecting coconut drippings for contraband [273]

/24 cont./ 868 866 857 [273]
alcohol, or aiding in construction jobs. They are taught fishing techniques, woodworking and hunting. Instruction in most cases is entirely informal, by example rather than precept.

Loose groups form during childhood, consisting of children of the same sex and approximately the same age. 857 These groups fluctuate in size, splitting or merging, but attachments formed at this stage are life-long, generally. The groups often serve as work groups -- for example, a group of boys will go off together to change the tethers of their parents horses; or a girls' group will always be found collecting shellfish together. For girls, such groups offer a certain amount of protection against advances made by males, especially as puberty approaches and sexual maturation makes a girl more physically attractive. It is difficult to detach a girl from such a group, even if she is willing, for it is practically impossible to ensure that other members of the group will not carry the story home to spread it through the village.

Children's groups do not operate independently of adult authority. On the contrary, they are quite subject to it, and, as has been noted above, often function in direct response to adult commands. The /25/ time spent in such groups is not great, except on Sundays or during the school year, when the groups function during the school day. As the boys grow older, however, more time is spent in the company of the group during the early evening.

Thus, informal groups of children of the same sex and approximately similar ages form during childhood, serving both recreational and economic purposes and offering a beginning for associations that will last throughout life.

Puberty

By the onset of puberty both boys and girls have acquired 864● a large amount of experience and knowledge about sexual matters. For boys (and possibly for the girls) much of the actual experience is of a homosexual or play nature. Some instruction comes from grandparents, who stand in a joking relationship to the children. This appears to be most extensive in the case [603]

/25 cont./ 864 603 [856]
of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior.

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large number of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers themselves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair. 515 [183] 302 [824] [439]

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious affront when uttered in anger. 515 [578]

For girls, constant bathing and the application of vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized. [856]

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circumcision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic 881

/32 cont./ 826 832 757

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It [856] is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 ● tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the couple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/34/

After puberty, males usually have their first complete heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/91 cont./ 114
sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; never- 826
theless, breasts are of relatively small importance when com- 832
pared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the 175
prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play 814
among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation [114]
was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), [838]
which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states
that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not
specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and 55
especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan 193
culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. [183]
Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to
the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individ-
uals. Numerous references are also available to native [302]
cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were
used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S.
Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present 302
emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the 177
use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished con- [187]
siderably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics.
Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of [747]
'eka, or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to
be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. [831]
As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except [263]
in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas 182
bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. 304
In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together;
the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and
the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote
healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy,
pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism 881
and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving 182
seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, the behavior may actually be a local development. It is doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the disparate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was given concerning the relative chronological order of this ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche ceremony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, therefore, that it had any direct or close relationship to puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, resembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid 221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only survivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of rationship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

/97 cont./

relationship the intimacy necessary for sexual instructions was achieved easily. The same informants remarked that instruction of this type was declining at present, due to the "shame" which the topic of sex engendered in contacts between grandparents and grandchildren. It appears, then, that the grandparent-grandchild relationship as a means of transmitting sexual instructions is a rapidly declining aboriginal custom.

Nudity for both sexes was not marked by any stigma in the aboriginal past. In many cases, males went completely naked except for a small ligature which held the foreskin over the glans penis, concealing it. Loin cloths (hami) were also worn by males, often on ceremonial occasions. Women apparently went naked to the waist in general but also appeared in the nude on many occasions. On various occasions, however, women wore a considerable amount of clothing, consisting of a skirt and a mantle of tapa cloth, concealing much of the body.

The present avoidance of nudity, in heterosexual relations, which is so marked among adolescents, appears to be a direct result of the missionary pressure. Since the occupation of the island, the natives have been forced gradually to accept more and more of the standards of clothing set up by the mission; standards which, incidentally, bear little relation to those in the continental culture in which the Marquesan missionaries have originated. The first step appears to have been a ban on /98/ most of the native attire, especially varieties of female attire. Male clothing appears to have caused less concern to the missionaries. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, as is shown by von den Steinen's excellent photographs, most of the women wore "Mother Hubbards" a large percentage of the time that they were in situations where numbers of people were about, while men could wear the hami loincloth or some form of European clothing. The hami appears to have gone out in the first quarter of the twentieth century, probably disappearing completely by 1930. The same attitudes and values which have been instilled to produce this assumption of

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]
European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nenē = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard. . . . Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun 178 864 175 648 864

/99 cont./

heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period appears to require some qualification, in view of the context in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason; it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruction received from their grandparents. [603]

There is no information about age of first intercourse for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14. [183]

A great deal has been written about the existence of adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 38-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/107 cont./ 114 562 833 [177]
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among [864] children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physiologically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial intercourse episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40 males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of female dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833 may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching (nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115] reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836] intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837] would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many informants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554] sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however; furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182 838 in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of